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ABSTRACT

This study was designed to determine which kinds of printing--religious, government, or political--provided the highest volume (number of pages) of printing business for the Boston newspaper publishers from 1763 through 1775; which kind produced the most income; and which of the publishers appeared to be the most prosperous from 1763 through 1775. Each Boston newspaper publisher's total printing volume was analyzed, his competitive position was related to that of nonnewspaper publishers, and other sources of printers' incomes were determined. Several key relationships were examined: the direction (Patriot/Loyalist) of political content of the publisher's newspaper; the amount of political versus religious content; the relationship between the newspaper's printing volume from government sources and the direction of the editorial opinion of the newspaper; and the relationship between changes in a newspaper's political printing volume and changes in the direction of political content in the newspaper. The study concludes with an economic assessment of Boston newspaper publishers by summarizing advertising data, circulation, subsidiary business interests, number of employes, outside financial assistance, and financial holdings. (RB)

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MARY ANN YODELIS

Who Paid the Piper? Publishing Economics in Boston, 1763-1775

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Introduction

Pensioner: It seems to me that the clergy interest themselves too much in the political Dispute of the Day. The Gentleman in Crape have no Right to intermeddle in such Things. But Otis says he could not carry his Points without the Aid of the black Regiment.

Divine: If Mr. Otis expressed himself in this Manner, (which I question) he might have expressed himself rather more decently; but surely you will allow this to be a Day of Darkness and Difficulty, and you will also allow us to pray for Light and Direction.

—*Boston Gazette*
July 25, 1768

THE DIALOGUE above between the Divine and the Pensioner (Governor Francis Bernard of Massachusetts) early in the revolution indicated that clergymen were speaking out on political issues. Many of these orations were printed, adding to most printers' large volumes of church-related publications. Religious printing was important to the income of nearly every Boston printing house during the revolution (1763-1775).[1*]

This study shows that publications with a religious orientation were a more significant source of revenue for many printers than government printing. There generally was three to four times as much religious as government printing in Boston. Furthermore, those Loyalist printers most dependent on crown subsidy lost local colonial business in retaliation for their support of British government. Religion definitely helped pay the piper.

These findings stressing the significance of religious printing are somewhat different from the conclusions reached by earlier historians. The most valuable collection of economic factual data

* See NOTES at end.

about revolutionary era printers was compiled by Rollo Silver,[2] who, like Daniel Boorstin,[3] Oliver M. Dickerson[4] and other historians and journalists[5] suggested that printers owed their existence to government subsidy. Although this may have been the case in the early colonial days, it was not characteristic of the 1763-1775 period.

This study attempts to answer three major questions: 1) Which kind of printing—religious, government or political—provided the highest volume (total pages) of printing business for the Boston newspaper publishers from 1763 through 1775? 2) Which kind of printing appeared to bring the most income? 3) From an analysis of the quantifiable data, as well as of fragmentary data, which of the newspaper publishers appeared to be most prosperous from 1763 through 1775?

To answer these questions, each Boston newspaper publisher's total printing volume was analyzed from 1763 through 1775, his competitive position was related to that of non-newspaper publishers and one major source of many printers' incomes, religious printing, was discovered. In addition, the study analyzed several kinds of government printing and describes other printing done in Boston. Several key relationships are examined: 1) The relationship between changes in a newspaper publisher's total printing volume and the direction (Patriot/Loyalist)[6] of political content in his newspaper; 2) the relationship between changes in a newspaper publisher's religious printing volume and the direction of political content in his newspaper; 3) the relationship between changes in a newspaper publisher's printing volume from government (power sources) and the direction of political content in his newspaper; 4) the relationship between changes in a newspaper publisher's political printing volume[7] and direction of political content in his newspaper.

Finally, the study rounds out the economic assessment of Boston newspaper publishers by summarizing advertising data, circulation, subsidiary business interests, number of employes, outside financial assistance and financial holdings.

Procedure

There were several reasons for selecting the time and location parameters of the study. The year 1763 represented the early

motions toward an American revolution; April, 1775, began the War for Independence period. Also, the city of Boston, "the cradle of the American revolution," was the most likely location for the study because the seven newspapers published there from 1763 through 1775 were an active part of that revolutionary turmoil and represented diverse voices. Of the 37 papers in the colonies in 1775, only four supported the Loyalists.[8] Boston did not fit this pattern: four of the newspapers there were Tory, two were Patriot and one was generally neutral.[9] Despite differing political philosophies, however, "All the printers in Boston were on friendly terms respecting business: . . ."[10] and this facilitated a more thorough economic study. Newspaper publishers, of course, were not the only publishers in Boston, and they printed less than half the publications there each year. Therefore, the four other major printing firms were analyzed for comparative purposes.

Although the ideal measure of a printer's economic success would be a copy of his ledger or annual profit and loss statement, such data, of course, are not available. There are, however, two major economic factors that can be indexed: 1) the annual mean number of items and pages of general printing produced by each newspaper printer and by each non-newspaper printer, and 2) the annual mean number and columns of advertisements published weekly in the Boston newspapers.[11]

Printing volume was reconstructed for each Boston printer. Total printing volume was obtained by tabulating the known pages printed during the 13-year period. The Charles Evans collection of American imprints[12] formed the basis for this count. Works inadvertently omitted by Evans were added, and the "ghosts" (publications included on hearsay)[13] were deleted. Both Roger P. Bristol's supplement to the Evans collection[14] and the national index of imprints compiled by Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney[15] were used extensively to establish an accurate list of Boston imprints from 1763 through 1775. A significant but unknown factor was the exact number of copies printed of each publication. Regardless of the number of copies of each publication, the printer who produced the most pages of printing per year probably earned the highest income from general printing, and that assumption underlies the following analyses.

It also seemed justifiable to assume that the printer who printed the largest number of advertisements, as well as the most columns of advertising, in his newspaper, probably received the most advertising income, either in cash or barter. Content analysis was used to determine the annual average numbers and columns of advertising for all seven revolutionary Boston newspapers. These data were converted to the percentage of Boston newspaper advertising obtained annually by each newspaper.[16]

Total Printing Volume

Of the newspaper publishers in business over the 13-year period, the popular party printers of the Boston *Gazette*, Benjamin Edes and John Gill, produced the largest annual printing volume (Table 1). Edes and Gill were followed by Thomas and John Fleet, the impartial or neutral printers of the Boston *Evening Post*, but the Loyalist printers did not fare as well. Before John Mein and John Fleeming became involved opposing the Patriot non-importation movement in their newspaper, the *Chronicle*, for example, their firm produced from two to three times more general printing than any of the other Boston newspaper publishers. The large Mein and Fleeming printing volume resulted from a lively business in psalm books and hymnals. Table 1 also shows clearly that the Loyalist *News-Letter* and *Post Boy* publishers, the Richard Drapers and John Green and Joseph Russell, generally suffered a severe loss of general printing over the 13-year period. When John Mills and John Hicks purchased the *Post Boy*, they were able to restore some of the lost printing business, but not to the level enjoyed by Green and Russell in 1763 and 1764. Ezekiel Russell, another Loyalist, was not a successful printer, although he did better at printing than in the newspaper business with his short-lived *Centinel*. Finally, Isaiah Thomas, the young patriot printer of the *Massachusetts Spy*, generally had a low printing volume except in 1771, probably because he was so new to the trade. The reasons for this loss of business by the Loyalists will be dealt with later.

Just Plain Printers

Among the non-newspaper publishers, the Kneeland sons in their various partnership arrangements continued to capture a large share of the Boston printing business. Their father, Samuel, enjoyed the same success until his retirement in 1765 (Table 2). An important consideration, however, is that at times there were four full-fledged partners in the Kneeland firm compared with

TABLE I

Total Printing Volume of Newspaper Publisher-Printers, Based on Annual Total Pages Printed, Excluding Newspapers, and Each Publisher's Annual Percentage of Total Boston Printing

Year	Evening Post		Gazette		Spy		News-Letter		Post Boy		Chronicle		Centinel	
	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent
1763	288	6	262	6			966	21	719	16				
1764	782	21	442	12			377	10	861	23				
1765	352	6	780	14			196	4	523	10				
1766	210	5	300	7			314	7	506	12				
1767	736	10	406	5			63	1	338	4	1597	21		
1768	541	10	573	11			282	5	135	3	1987	37		
1769	698	23	643	21			101	3	40	1	596	20		
1770	256	5	1237	25	23	0	54	1	47	1	827	17		
1771	458	7	342	5	241	4	391	6	14	0			496	8
1772	194	3	632	10	640	10	260	4	20	0			203	3
1773	896	12	664	9	361	5	208	3	612	8				
1774	395	16	1011	15	324	5	180	3	519	7				
1775	35	2	296	19	12	1	69	5	189	12				
Mean	449	9	507	13	317	4	266	6	350	8	1252	24	350	6

TABLE 2

Total Printing Volume of Non-Newspaper Publisher-Printers, Based on Annual Total Pages Printed, and Each Printer's Annual Percentage of Total Boston Printing

Year	M'Alpine		Z. Fowle		S. Kneeland		Kneeland Sons		Others		Printer Unknown	
	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent	Pages	Percent
1763			331	7	609	13	1265	27			190	4
1764	54	1	197	5	236	6	510	14			192	5
1765	806	15	310	6	738	14	875	16			852	16
1766	390	9	128	3			881	21			974	23
1767	1420	18	196	3			1578	20	228	3	1134	15
1768	347	6	16	0			870	16			590	11
1769	76	3					738	24			110	4
1770	417	8	15	0			1575	32	60	1	307	6
1771	328	5	156	2			1611	26	221	4	1165	18
1772	19	0					1710	28			1353	22
1773	389	5	1	0			969	13	570	7	1551	20
1774	547	8					419	6	834	12	670	10
1775							80	5			249	16
Mean	436	7	132	2	528	11	1006	19	383	5	718	13

two full partners in most other firms. Finally, publications unidentified by printer accrued in such large annual volume that it was like having an additional printer to account for in the analysis. The majority of those items classified "printer unknown" were religious, rather than government or political printing. Also, it appears that when a printer omitted his name from a publication, it was due more to custom or neglect than to fear of reprisal because of the publication's content. To identify these printers would require the services of a typographical expert and thus a separate study. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that no newspaper publisher or printer monopolized the Boston market.

Sermons and Psalters

There were only three major kinds of publishing in revolutionary Boston that can be quantified from extant records. Commercial or job printing of blank forms and the like will be discussed later. Religiously oriented printing generally accounted for over half the publishing in Boston. Printing for government was important, but it constituted less than a fourth of all Boston publishing. Government printing includes that ordered by the general court, consisting of council and assembly; the board of customs; all levels of the judiciary, including vice-admiralty courts; county and town governments, and, by 1775, the Continental and Provincial congresses and the committees of safety and supplies. The third category is political printing, a very small percentage of total printing. Table 3 indicates that government and political printing never approached the high volume of religious publishing except in two prime political years: 1769, when John Mein began his non-importation exposés in the *Chronicle;* and 1775, when Lexington and Concord "battles" drastically changed the political position of many colonists.

Still another way of viewing the importance of religious printing is to compute the annual percentage of religious and government printing produced by each printer. Table 4 shows again that religious printing accounted for over half the publishing of most firms. Even the neutral publishers, the Fleets, were dependent on religious printing. Although they printed both sides of political controversies, they seldom depended on politics to keep their presses busy. Religious printing also was crucial for the partisan publishers of the *Spy*, the *Chronicle* and the *Censor*.

TABLE 3

Pages Printed and Percentage of Total Printing of Major Kinds of Boston Printing

Year	Total Pages	Religious Pages	Religious Percent	Government Pages	Government Percent	Political Pages	Political Percent
1763	4630	3582	77	723	16	16	3
1764	3667	1642	45	855	23	144	4
1765	5432	4508	83	519	10	194	4
1766	4223	2495	59	610	14	78	2
1767	7744	5296	68	388	5	108	1
1768	5362	3657	68	273	5	258	5
1769	3026	583	19	314	10	640	21
1770	4934	2696	55	854	17	563	11
1771	6302	4703	75	308	5	39	1
1772	6123	3934	64	615	10	96	2
1773	7624	5073	67	469	6	338	4
1774	6925	4620	67	716	10	555	8
1775	1519	439	29	171	11	377	25

Edes and Gill depended heavily on religious printing until 1769 when they became printers to the popular-party dominated assembly. Then government printing crowded out religious printing in their shop. Green and Russell, *Post Boy* publishers, were almost totally dependent on government printing. The 1773 increase in religious printing by the *Post Boy* publishers occurred because Mills and Hicks took over the shop. Drapers, who enjoyed a relatively steady government printing volume, nevertheless had a continuous religious printing volume. The significance of Table 4, then, is that printing firms did not need government publications to insure a thriving business. The firms producing the most publications generally did so because they printed large quantities of sermons and psalters.

TABLE 4

Percentage of of Each Publisher's Printing Volume from Religious, Government, and Political Printing

	Evening Post			Gazette			Spy			News-Letter			Post Boy			Chronicle			Centinel		
Year	Religious	Government	Political	Religious	Government	Political	Religious	Government	Political	Religious	Government	Political	Religious	Government	Political	Religious	Government	Political	Religious	Government	Political
1763	99	0	0	98	0	0				66	18	0	25	74	0						
1764	16	0	0	70	0	25				80	18	0	4	87	0						
1765	81	2	13	90	0	9				53	25	6	9	88	2						
1766	96	0	4	70	0	16				56	28	0	0	100	0						
1767	25	0	0	68	0	25				30	67	0	0	100	0	64	0	0			
1768	65	0	0	75	0	15				16	46	0	0	100	0	78	0	7			
1769	10	0	2	7	27	52				0	96	0	0	100	0	55	0	40			
1770	0	63	7	28	53	16	100	0	0	72	22	0	2	28	0	44	0	38			
1771	98	0	0	31	60	7	17	0	4	53	21	0	0	100	0				90	0	0
1772	75	12	0	6	68	7	60	0	0	43	53	0	0	100	0				39	0	14
1773	95	0	0	0	46	46	45	0	13	44	36	0	94	0	0						
1774	43	34	0	3	36	30	36	2	0	0	27	8	32	0	48						
1775	0	23	0	67	7	21	0	0	100	29	3	40	36	0	32						

Printing and Newspaper Politics

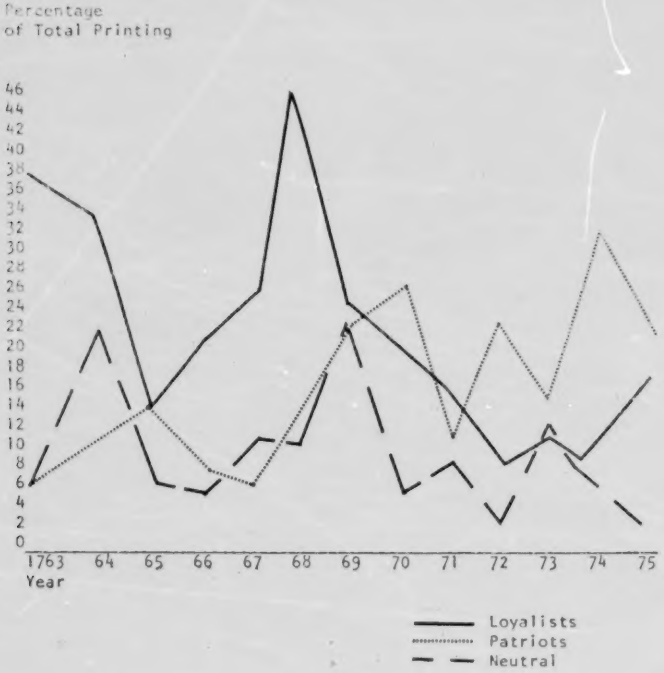
THE NEXT question is whether the publisher's printing volume was affected by the political position taken by his newspaper. Total printing volume is analyzed first, then religious printing volume, then government and political printing volume. The Loyalist papers generally lost advertising after 1770.[17] The same trend occurred in their total printing volume, although this did not happen until 1771. (There is no apparent explanation for the difference in time.) Figure 1 shows that after 1771 a greater percentage of Boston's total printing was produced by newspaper publishers who supported the popular party than by those who supported the government party. This contrasts sharply with the findings of other historians discussed earlier.[18]

The question now becomes whether there were relationships between changes in a newspaper publisher's total printing volume and the direction of political content in his newspaper. If newspaper publisher-printers experienced economic coercion, a relationship between printing volume and political expression in the newspapers should become evident. For example, as a publisher increased his newspaper's support of the popular party, his total printing volume would be expected to increase. Likewise, as a government party publisher increased his newspaper's support for the government party, his total printing volume would be expected to decrease.

Two publishing firms in particular complained that because their newspapers supported the British government, their business as a whole quickly dropped in volume. These were publishers of the *Chronicle* and the *Post Boy*. John Mein and John Fleeming enjoyed a large printing volume until Mein decided to expose popular party members (including John Hancock) for clandestinely violating the popular party-backed non-importation agreement in Boston. From then on, the two Loyalist firms alleged they lost most of their printing customers. Mein even fled for his life but

FIGURE 1

Total Volume of General Printing, Excluding Newspapers, Based on Newspaper Publishers' Percentage of Total Pages of Boston Printing, Tabulated According to Publishers' Political Loyalties



Fleeming continued to print the exposés for a few weeks. He later wrote:

By pursuing the plan of my partner, of compleating the Account of the Importations for 1769 & 1770, I was of course involved in his ruin.[19]

Fleeming meant financial ruin, of course. The *Chronicle* publishers definitely believed they suffered economic losses because of their persistence in criticizing popular party members. Similarly the *Post Boy* publishers lost total printing volume. (See Table 1.) Although they did not give government particularly strong support in the *Post Boy*, Green and Russell attributed their declining printing volume to their political associations. Even before Mein and Fleeming, Green and Russell printed materials for the

customs board, and in Boston that was condemnation enough.[20] Mills and Hicks, who purchased the *Post Boy* from Green and Russell, said they also lost income because of their government affiliation.[21]

The relationship between declining printing volume and newspaper politics is less well documented for the other two Loyalist newspaper publishers. It was true that Margaret Draper eventually fled Boston with the British troops and that she complained to the British government about the consequent loss of her Boston property to the infant American government.[22] However, the Drapers' total printing volume did not decline as much as Green and Russell's, for example. Richard Draper's continual ill health and early death may have been a factor causing some loss of business even though Margaret was a capable publisher. Ezekiel Russell did not record why he lost printing volume, but the relationship between his support for the Loyalist cause in the *Censor* and his decreasing amount of printing may be inferred from Table 1.

On the other hand, Edes and Gill and Isaiah Thomas, popular party publishers, did not suffer severe business losses. However, Table 1 indicates that these publishers did not experience a steady increase in business either. There was no specific evidence, for example, that these publishers gained business lost by the Loyalist publishers, particularly Mein and Fleeming. It seems that business lost by the Loyalists was distributed among all other Boston printers.

The Fleets were neutral or impartial publishers and, until 1775 they generally managed to maintain a relatively steady printing volume. Their publishing business as a whole was not damaged by their openness to both parties in the *Evening Post*.

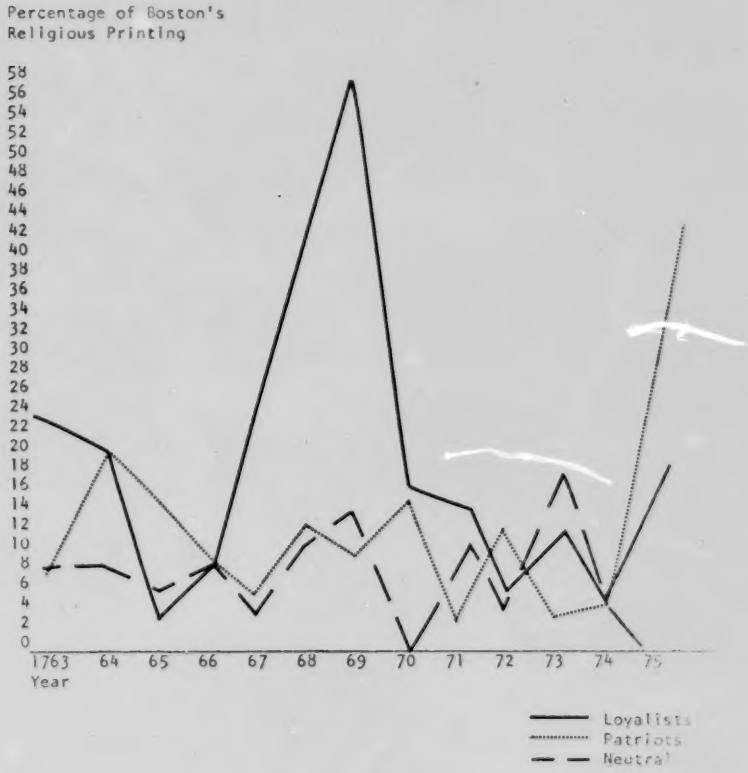
Nevertheless, the quantitative analysis does not indicate a strong relationship between a publisher's total printing volume and the political direction of his newspaper except in random incidents.[23] The quantitative analysis was merely one part of the total study, however, and the weight of the evidence appears to rest with some Loyalist and popular party publishers' statements that they experienced economic coercion. Still, the case of the Fleets demonstrates that there was some degree of freedom from economic control in colonial Boston, for neutral printers at least.

Religion and Politics

Having established that total Loyalist printing volume declined after 1770, religious printing was examined for a similar trend. The question is whether there was any relationship between change in religious printing volume and political direction of a printer's newspaper. Therefore, religious printing volume was extracted from total printing volume and the percentage of religious printing produced by Loyalist, popular party and neutral newspaper publishers was tabulated. Figure 2 shows a phenomenal increase in Loyalist religious printing volume between 1767 and

FIGURE 2

Percentage of Boston's Religious Printing According to Newspaper Publishers' Political Affiliations



1769. This was due to Mein and Fleeming's arrival in Boston. They created business. However, after the two lost much of their printing business because of their politics, their religious printing was absorbed equally by other publishers. Except for that spurt in religious printing effected by Mein and Fleeming, religious printing remained fairly stable in colonial Boston until 1774 when the popular party printers cornered the market.

Next, the individual newspaper publishers were studied to determine whether there were relationships between religious printing and political expression. Recalling Table 4 and reviewing statements of the Loyalist publishers concerning their general economic losses, it can be concluded that Green and Russell, Mills and Hicks, Ezekiel Russell, and Mein and Fleeming probably lost religious printing volume, just as they did total printing volume, because of their political affiliations. This was not true for the Drapers, however. The religious printing volume of the Boston *Evening Post* publishers varied from year to year, but the Fleets generally depended on religious printing for most of their business. The impartiality of their newspaper did not seem to affect their total printing volume or their religious printing volume. Yet, the quantitative data showed no specific relationship between religious printing volume and a publisher's political expression in his newspaper.[24] Here again, the Loyalist printers' allegations that loss of all printing was tied to political conviction probably should outweigh the quantitative results.

Government Printing and Politics

Whether revolutionary politics had some relationship to the publisher's government printing volume—whether or not a publisher gained or lost government printing because of the political stance of his newspaper—is not a simple question. Most Boston publishers could earn an adequate livelihood without government support, although Green and Russell and Mein and Fleeming became almost totally dependent on government after their work for the American Board of Customs became noised about the countryside. The board was despised for collecting the hated duties. It might be assumed that the various branches of government expected newspaper support in return for printing jobs. It would seem that as a printer's government printing volume increased, his support for the source of the increase should become

apparent in his newspaper's content. The question, then, is: Was there a relationship between changes in a newspaper publisher's printing volume from power sources (government) and the direction (Loyalist/Patriot) of the political content in his newspaper?

First, grouping the publishers by political affiliation, it must be ascertained whether the Loyalists' share of total government printing declined after a particular year, just as their advertising volume, total printing and religious printing volumes declined after 1770 or 1771. Figure 3 shows with dramatic clarity that the government party publishers had a near monopoly on all kinds of government printing until 1769, the year the American Board of Customs became involved seriously in the colony's political affairs. That year the popular party printers' share of government printing volume mushroomed from near zero to over 50 per cent, a result of Edes' and Gill's appointment as printers to the Patriot-controlled assembly, replacing Green and Russell, who were suspected of being puppets of the customs officials. The next year the Loyalist printing volume plummeted to a mere 3 per cent; however, the government party printers regained some of these losses in subsequent years. Mein and Fleeming's continued hammering at the popular party "hypocrites" in the *Chronicle* through 1769 and 1770 also may have been responsible for the nadir in Loyalist printing volume. After 1774, of course, the government printing volume of both factions dropped; all government was disrupted in some way. Figure 3 also reflects the negligible government printing volume of the Fleets until it was bolstered by publishing for some of the new governmental structures such as the Provincial Congress.

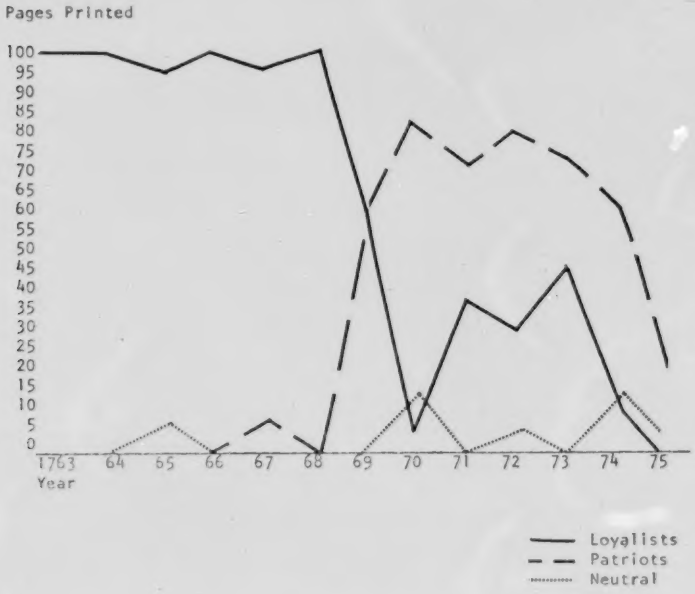
Because there was a definite shift of government printing from the Loyalist to the popular party printers, each publisher's share of total government printing was analyzed to determine whether it was related to the political content of the publisher's newspaper. At the outset, the Fleets and Isaiah Thomas were excluded from this portion of the study; neither had a sufficient government printing volume to analyze. The *Chronicle* publishers also had to be omitted. Although their income from the customs board was substantial, no record exists of the publications actually completed for the board. Some of it probably was for small jobs such as printing official forms, the kind of printing automatically ex-

cluded from tabulation of total government printing in this part of the study because of its ephemeral nature and because much of it was in the form of large subsidies for small jobs completed by loyal printers.

The government printing volumes of the remaining three publishers, Green and Russell, the Drapers, and Edes and Gill, however, appeared to be related to the political positions taken by their newspapers. The assembly, gradually coming under popular party control, shifted its printing volume from Green and Russell to Edes and Gill. Green and Russell, though meekly, continued supporting the government party in the *Post Boy* while Edes and Gill supported the popular party in the *Gazette*. The Drapers, however, remained printers to the governor and council (staunchly Loyalist) and this assured the printing firm a fairly steady income from government from 1763 until the War for Independence. The Drapers, of course, supported the Loyalists in the *News-Letter*. Again, this evidence of government printing ac-

FIGURE 3

Government Printing Volume, Excluding Customs Board Printing Jobs



companying newspaper support outweighed the results of the quantitative study, which indicated no relationship.[25] At the same time, the Fleets, as neutral publishers, were relatively independent of government printing, reaffirming the assumption that some publishers survived and earned above average income without government printing subsidy.

Political Printing and Politics

Another area in which relationships were expected to materialize was the classification called political printing. The original assumption was that newspaper publishers who supported a political faction printed the political pamphlets for that faction. The question is, then, whether there was a relationship between changes in a newspaper publisher's political printing volume and the direction of political content in his newspaper.

It was initially proposed that publications with political content be extracted from each publisher's total printing volume and examined for relationships with the printer's total, religious, government and political pamphlet printing volumes. The expectation was that there was a large amount of political printing and that printing with political content increased or decreased as a publisher's total printing increased or decreased. The question was whether there was a relationship between changes in a newspaper publisher's political printing volume, and the direction of political content in his newspaper. However, the quantity of this kind of printing proved to be so small (contrary to the generalizations of the historians previously cited), that the data could not be subjected to quantitative analysis.[26]

Nevertheless a few tentative generalizations can be offered. Table 4 indicates that the volume of political printing, tabulated on an annual basis, was very low. The table re-emphasizes that the neutral Fleets remained independent, not only of government income, but also of political printing income. In addition, very few Loyalist pamphlets were written during the revolution so few show in Table 4.

Income Sources

ELECTION, ordination and funeral sermons, sometimes political sermons, psalters, hymn books and parts of the Bible were produced and reproduced with astonishing regularity. Psalters, hymn books and testaments reappeared in annual editions. Religion clearly spelled profit. The kinds of religious printing done is discussed separately here to provide a basis for comparing costs of and income from religious and government printing.

Election Sermons. The election sermon was the focal point of an annual New England ritual since 1634.[22] In Massachusetts, it was delivered in May when the council and the officers of the lower house were selected.[28] When for eight years government paid to have these sermons printed, the tracts were considered government printing; otherwise, they were categorized as religious printing.[29] Committees appointed by the general court dickered for the best price on a cost-per-sheet basis.[30] Because of inflation, as well as the bargaining and barter factors, costs of printing are difficult to ascertain. Generally, however, from 8 to 10 pence a sheet was the going rate for election sermons. The bills also showed the preachers probably were paid with 75 printed copies. If the printer required the services of an outside bookbinder, the printer paid the binder, and, in turn, charged government. When the general court was required to sit in Cambridge—a veiled punishment for Boston's recalcitrant behavior toward the crown—the printers usually charged an additional 12 shillings to deliver printed sermons there.[31] The annual election sermon provided a small but steady income, usually for Richard Draper or for Edes and Gill.

Artillery Company Election Sermons. Annual sermons delivered before the election of artillery company officers and at musters also became commonplace. There was little evidence of what financial arrangements were made because account books for the company cannot be located. Later practice and a newspaper advertisement suggest, however, that the sermons at times were paid

for by the association and at times were subscribed for in advance of publication by interested members. However, these sermons constitute less than one percent of total religious printing.[32]

Funerals and Ordinations. Funerals and ordinations were significant occasions for the New Englander reared in the Puritan ethic and the observance of both was marked by a lengthy sermon, often printed to preserve its theological riches (or to preserve the printer from starvation). Hardly a month passed in Boston without at least one such sermon being published. The printer had a ready market in the community where the funeral or ordination was held and often sold the sermon through local booksellers there. Occasionally funeral sermons were financed by provisions in the will of the deceased[33] and sometimes at the request and expense of the hearers.[34] These sermons apparently cost the public the same as political sermons, which are discussed later.

Capitalizing on Controversy. Another group of sermons important to a printer's profit capitalized on religious controversy. The timeliness of the topic, as well as the interest generated by the argument, insured widespread sales. In addition, opposition spokesmen could be counted on to publish counterattacks and the ensuing debate kept the presses busy for months. Ordinary sermons intended as theological teaching vehicles hardly created the same interest. One example of the latter was Sylvanus Conant's "The Blood of Abel and the Blood of Jesus considered and improved . . ." The sermon was published, but the profit potential ceased after the first edition.[35] In contrast, the profit potential for a preacher's remarks on current issues was nearly limitless. The sermon at Moses Baldwin's execution for murder sold three editions; Samson Occom's sermon at the execution of Moses Paul, nine editions.[36] The local best seller in 1773, however, was the sermon accompanying the dying speech of the burglar Levi Ames when Ezekiel Russell, M'Alpine, Fowle, Edes and Gill, and Richard Draper, as well as other printers, published 13 separate commemorations of the event.[37]

The most protracted and extensive series of religious publications, however, was generated by sermons and observations of the Reverend Jonathon Mayhew. The amiable heretic's" principal contribution to the financial well-being of the Boston printers focused on his attacks on the Society for the Propagation of the

Gospel in Foreign Parts. The society caused a good deal of anxiety in Massachusetts by sending missionaries to populated regions rather than to frontier outposts. Mayhew and others suspected this was a government-inspired scheme to strengthen the Anglican church and eventually establish an American episcopate.[38] Mayhew's original 176-page criticism was printed and sold by the Drapers, Edes and Gill, and the Fleets, probably because the job could be handled most expediently by cooperative typesetting—and cooperative profit-making. The near book-length pamphlet sold for half a dollar in colonial currency. The attack on the society, of course, was followed by several defenses and Mayhew's 144-page answer to the society's supporters. These sermons generally were printed by the same printing arrangements, with Green and Russell added to the group on one occasion. Even John Fleeming and M'Alpine shared some of the profit.[39] Finally, Mayhew's death cut off the paper squabbles with the society, but it provided more opportunity for publisher's profits through printing the sermons preached at his funeral.[40]

Profits, prices and quantities printed of each page are not known in exact terms for this kind of religious publication; however, evidence indicates these also are similar to the next category, "political sermons." The frequency of publication and large number of editions also suggests the controversial sermons were profitable. Of course, the printers did at times misjudge public demand for certain sermons and pamphlets. Inventories of their estates inevitably listed such articles and wrote them off as "wast paper."[41]

Political Sermons. As the "black regiment" became more concerned with the future of the colonies, political sermons increased in number. Edmund S. Morgan wrote: "In 1740 America's leading intellectuals were clergymen and thought about theology: in 1790 they were statesmen and thought about politics."[42] Peter Edes (son of Benjamin) reported in his diary that the English General Gage, upon seeing a book of "religion" taken from a prison on Bunker Hill, exploded: "It is your God dam'd religion that has ruin'd your country; damn your religion."[45] Printers perhaps were driven as much by profit as by patriotism when they published these political-religious diatribes.

Although varying degrees of efficacy have been attributed to these sermons in the revolutionary effort, they did not represent a

large chunk of total Boston publishing. Political sermons accounted for five per cent of total publications there during the 13-year period under study. These publications, of course, increased in frequency as the War for Independence became more imminent. They were overwhelmingly on the popular party side, 3,459 pages favoring the Patriots to 201 pages for the Loyalists. Except for Ezekiel Russell, newspaper publishers printed political sermons supporting their newspaper's political stance. It should be noted that Green and Russell, Mein and Fleeming, and Mills and Hicks did not print sermons of a political nature, perhaps because of the scarcity of Loyalist ministers to write them.

Evidence of sermon income, much less profits, is scarce. Inflation, bargaining and bartering affected income. Nevertheless, some financial data were reconstructed for this kind of sermon and the analysis also applies to the other kinds of religious sermons already discussed. Considering all the multiple factors, including quality of binding and paper, which affected prices somewhat, one shilling for 50 bound pages appeared an average charge, a higher price than that charged for election sermons.[43] Pamphlets and books stitched in blue paper, of course, were cheaper than leather-bound publications. Evidence is fragmentary, but it is probable that election sermons were produced in much smaller quantities than political and controversial sermons. Printers generally sold about 500 copies of books and sermons with little general interest, but about 1,000 copies each of the best sellers. Silver asserted that 2,000 copies was the standard for any successful publication.[44] Subscription proposals indicated that most printers would not publish unless at least 300 persons subscribed for an edition.[45] Frequently, a seventh copy of the publication was offered free when an individual bought six, probably to encourage wholesale purchases by booksellers.[46]

Sermons were no more expensive than other luxuries. Historians and economists agree that comparing the value of the colonial pound to the present-day dollar is impossible. However, comparative prices during the revolution provide some perspective. A Bostonian during the revolution spent the same for Jonathan Mayhew's 176-page criticism of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as for two bowls of punch in a local tavern. Levi Ames' dying speech or Thomas Prince's lamentation on the

state of Boston after the Port Act could have been had for the cost of two quarts of milk in 1763 prices.[47] In general, the ordinary sermon appeared to be within the purse of most Bostonians, and it had great potential for bolstering the printer's income as well.

Bibles and Psalters. Copies of the old and new testaments, psalters and hymn books appeared to be staples for the Boston printers. The Watts and Tate and Brady editions of the psalms of David, some 300 to 400 pages each, were the most popular and the most frequently printed. The Watts collection was in its 27th edition by the middle of the revolution. The New England Psalter, a children's edition and young people's editions of the Watts compilation, also were good sellers, judging by the frequency of new editions.[48] The Aitken Bible, printed in Philadelphia after the War for Independence, has been considered the first printed in America; however, as early as 1770, Fleeming circulated a four-page folder advertising a Bible. Exact prices of these psalters, testaments and hymn books are unknown but the evidence tends to indicate that they sold for much the same price as the political sermons: that is, at a higher price than government printing. Although all the printers had some part in this apparently profitable religious printing venture, non-newspaper publishers printed most of the bibles and psalm books in Boston.

Income from Government Printing

Printing for government did account for some printers' incomes, nevertheless, so this income source was analyzed to determine whether fewer government items may have been printed, but at a higher price, and perhaps a greater profit.

Printers to the Governor and Council. Having replaced Samuel Kneeland, the Draper firm shared with Green and Russell the title of printer to the governor and council. In this capacity, both firms were awarded printing jobs ordered jointly by both houses of the Massachusetts general court. Enough records are extant to suggest the financial arrangements involved in this kind of printing.

During the early part of the revolution, Samuel Kneeland's main dealings with the general court consisted of pleading for additional money for work completed in 1759. He said inflation increased the cost of printing the laws beyond the original 12

shillings a book agreed on with the legislative committee in charge of printing. After considering the old printer's request in February, 1763, the committee ordered £50 paid on Kneeland's account.[49]

Early in January the next year, Kneeland was back with a second request for funds. This time he complained that when the general court ordered a new impression of the temporary laws from another Boston printer, Kneeland was left with a hundred obsolete law books which ". . . became as waste Paper to him—A Burden he is unable to bear——."[50] The committee deferred consideration of the petition until the next session,[51] which prompted Kneeland to write again to convey the urgency of his financial need because ". . . he cannot possibly carry on his Business without immediate Relief:—" He was granted £100 then and £197/10–0 the next February.[52] From then on, however, his only government business consisted of some law book sales to "sundry" Massachusetts towns for a little more than £87 and of the publication of 60 more pages of the laws.[53] Evidently, Kneeland lost the government printing because others charged less. While he was claiming costs of 25 or 26 shillings a sheet, Green and Russell were willing to do the work for 20 shillings.[54] Kneeland retired in 1765, bankrupt.

For the Draper family, government printing had been a long-standing tradition. Richard Draper showed initiative in petitioning to continue it after his father died.[55] After Richard's death, Margaret Draper also proved resourceful in acting to retain her husband's government printing business.[56]

With the exception of assembly printing, the most substantial government work (in volume) was printing the perpetual and temporary laws of the colony. From time to time, compilations of both kinds of laws were issued, with frequent supplements to keep the compilations current.[57] From 1763 to 1765, Green and Russell virtually monopolized this printing. Four hundred copies were provided each time at 2 pence a sheet, with an extra 4 or 5 pence a sheet for copies on better quality paper for the ministry in England. The printers paid an independent binder to fold, assemble, cut and cover the books, and, in turn, charged government.[58]

About 1765, Green and Russell were caught in the midst of

friction between governor and council over the allocation of this printing. The general court agreed that Green and Russell should have the job, but Governor Bernard thought the Drapers should share this business. The governor won and so the two firms divided this kind of printing until the War for Independence.[59] During all that time, the price for printing the temporary and perpetual laws remained two pence a sheet. This uniform charge, regardless of the inflation scholars believe was so rampant in the colonies, suggests that this kind of government printing may not have been particularly profitable. Income from election and other kinds of sermons gradually increased to 2½ to 3 pence a sheet during the same period.[60] In addition, government ordered only 400 copies of each edition of the law while it has been suggested that many more—as many as 2,000—copies were sold of each religious work printed. Finally, most of the religious items printed contained more pages per item than the supplements to laws. Even the larger compilations were no match for Jonathan Mayhew's 176-page attack on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Considering all these factors, it is safe to conclude that government printing did not bring a higher income (nor a better profit) than religious printing.

In addition to printing occasional copies of individual acts passed by the general court, the Drapers and Green and Russell were authorized to print copies of Acts of Parliament affecting the colonies for distribution to the legislators and to the various Massachusetts town officials. Despite the protests of the house against the affront of such printing at province expense, the practice continued and the acts were printed at the price of 2 pence a sheet.[61] At best, then, the appointment as printer to the governor and council assured a steady, but comparatively low, income.

Printer to the Assembly. Green and Russell unseated Samuel Kneeland as printer to the assembly in 1763; a few years later, the two publishers were accorded the same treatment by Edes and Gill. By 1769, of course, the house was beginning to show more political independence, and this included refusal to accede to the governor's and the council's choice of Loyalist printers. Printing house journals was slightly less profitable than printing the temporary and perpetual laws or than printing religious ma-

terials, but there was a larger printing volume from the house than from the council. The volume still was less than religious printing, however.

The charges for printing the house journals changed from time to time from 19 or 20 shillings a sheet in 1763 to 12 in 1764, to 18 in 1765 and to 24 in 1767.[62] When Edes and Gill became printers to the house, the price remained 24 shillings a sheet with an additional charge for binding the journals. In 1775, the terms were raised to 28 shillings. Generally, two "setts" of each journal were ordered, one for each town and one for each representative.[63]

When converted to the same cost basis as the laws, the house journals cost the government less per sheet. The journals in 1763, for example, cost £1 for all the copies ordered of one sheet. Translating the laws to the same rate basis and using an average number of copies printed of 400, the laws would have cost government £3/6/8 per sheet in any given year. Religious printing, figured on this cost basis, could have brought an income up to £4 or £5 per sheet unless the cost was decreased for quantity orders. There was no evidence of this, however. Also, there was no apparent reason for maintaining two systems of figuring printing charges, except that it was traditional and that cost accounting had not yet come to Boston. Regardless of income, however, the prestige of the assembly appointment may have been more important than the money to Edes and Gill. (Edes also became printer to the Provincial Congress at Watertown in 1775 even when Samuel Hall of Cambridge did some of the printing for that body.)[64] This further data on printing the laws makes it still more clear that government printing did not bring a higher income than religious printing.

Board of Customs. Green and Russell attributed their financial downfall to their appointment as printers to the hated board of customs commissioners in Boston and perhaps John Mein might have written the same.[65] The board's business was a good source of income—a political plum—but, it meant the loss of most other Boston business. Unlike working for the council and house when printers were paid for actual printing, the customs board payments often were pure subsidy because Bostonians generally did not want to deal with printers who would stoop so low as to work for customs officers.

The customs board offered both a stationery and a printing contract. Shortly after the American board formed and located in Boston ("with a perversity amounting to genius"),[66] Green and Russell were appointed both printers and stationers. However, after John Mein began attacking the popular party in the *Chronicle*, the board saw an opportunity to subsidize a supporter of the government party more fearless than Green and Russell.[62] The Post Boy publishers began to feel the winds of change in customs support and asked Governor Thomas Hutchinson to speak in their behalf. In 1771, the Governor wrote the Lords of the Treasury in England, cautioning them against dismissing Green and Russell from customs board service:

> I wish Mr. Mein may have the favour of Government in some way or other, but it will certainly hurt the Board & the cause of Government if Green & Russell are laid aside. They have been sufferers and lost almost all their other customers by refusing to comply with the demands of the late seditious leaders and it will discourage others from adhering to Government if they should be rewarded in this manner for their services they have done. I think nothing more is necessary for their security than to have the true state of the case made known.[68]

Instead of reassurance, Green and Russell lost their stationery contract and heard in early April, 1771, that John Fleeming had been offered both the printer and stationer appointments. They complained bitterly.[69] Lord North still recommended Fleeming for both appointments, but the board only gave him the printing contract, causing him serious financial loss.[70]

While Green and Russell and Mein and Fleeming were in the good graces of the customs board, funds flowed freely. According to customs records, Green and Russell were paid over £2,400 from 1769 through 1775, with Mein and Fleeming receiving over £1,500 for the same period, rather tidy sums for colonial America.[71] In addition, Mills and Hicks, acting for John Fleeming after his departure to England, supplied nearly £120 of additional "stationary" to the board from April 5, 1775, to July 5, 1776.[72]

Even for the central office of the customs operation in America, almost £4,000 spent on stationery and printing over a five- or six-year period was an incredibly large sum. It was not surprising that by the end of 1769 the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treas-

ury demanded an explanation why relatively little revenue was collected for England after the high expenditures of the Boston board. The American commissioners had several answers: the colonies denied the right of Parliament to raise a revenue; the collectors were despised by the colonists; and smuggling was easy in Boston.[73]

Although payments to the Boston printers generally were summarized as sundry stationery or printing, at least one entry suggested political activity on the part of the customs commissioners. They paid John Fleeming for ". . . printing a State of the importations for 1770 and postage of Letters by like Order and Receipt."[74] Apparently, the postage facilitated mailing reprints of a 1770 pamphlet against the non-importation movement to merchants and faction leaders in all major colonial ports and may have had the desired effect of helping break the popular party non-importation agreements. In addition to this clearly marked postage item, large postage entries were listed as incidental expense without a designated payee. One entry of this kind, for example, reported a warrant for £90 for "postage of letters" on August 21, 1769, the day Mein began his attack on the nonimportation movement in the *Chronicle*. It should be noted that the term, "postage of Letters," was the same phrase used in the later Fleeming entry.[75]

The apparent freedom with which the customs board spent money for printing and stationery still did not necessarily mean the fortunate recipients became rich men. Because of their political affiliation with the American board and the *Chronicle's* attack on non-importation agreements, Mein and Fleeming claimed they were spurned by the rest of Boston. Therefore, they became dependent on the board for survival, not necessarily profit. It even may be that the board did not pay its printers promptly.

The Printers and the Courts. Colonial courts were just as dependent on "paper tools" for completing their work efficiently as courts are today; however, there is very little evidence of the financial arrangements between the printers and the various court systems. Margaret Draper reported that she printed several items for the officers of the courts, such as blank bonds and powers of attorney; other printers undoubtedly did the same.[76]

Newspaper advertisements indicated the vice-admiralty courts used all the Boston papers. According to the few bills that exist,

however, actual advertising in the Boston newspapers and the printing ordered by the courts only added a few pounds a year to the incomes of Drapers, Fleets, Edes and Gill, and Green and Russell.[77] This was negligible in comparison with total income.

Town Printers. Like printing for the courts, printing for the town of Boston itself existed, but most of the financial arrangements remain a mystery. Occasionally some advertisements and a few general printing orders were recorded in the town minutes. These indicated that Boston distributed its printing among all the printers except in the 1770s when the popular party could not tolerate Tory printers. Only occasionally were there large printing orders from the town such as the order from Edes and Gill and Fleets of the "Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre," which cost £40/0/6. As a general rule, the town added only a few pounds a year to a printer's income.[78]

Government Perpetuated. When old forms of Massachusetts colonial government had run their course, the Provincial and Continental congresses, as well as the committees of safety and supplies, still required printing services. There was no evidence that work for these bodies was profitable. For example, Isaiah Thomas had an unhappy experience trying to collect payment for newspapers delivered to the Provincial congress and other groups. These new governmental forces seldom ordered printed copies of their journals and proceedings, presumably because they preferred secrecy.[79] Neither did the Provincial congress and its committees favor a particular printer with work; Edes, Isaiah Thomas and Samuel Hall probably obtained the largest volume of printing, however.[80] The bulk of this work came after 1775. Edes and Gill and Fleets, in addition, reprinted material published by order of the Continental Congress, but they sold the reprints at their own financial risk and received no payment from the congress.[81] The continuity, then, of some form of government, assured printers a little work even during the thick of hostilities, but the jobs did not create much income.

Actual Government Income

Printers' bills to government in the Massachusetts Archives and records of warrants issued by the customs commissioners in the British Public Record Office provide the most complete view of

actual income received by Boston publishers from printing for the governor and council, the assembly and the customs board. The printers submitted a single bill covering newspaper advertising, publishing and job printing, to both houses of the provincial government; most have been preserved. It should be noted, however, that disbursements recorded by the customs board for stationery and printing cover only the period *after* the American board of customs was formed. In addition, there was no way of determining when publishers received hidden funds under the guise of "incidental expenses," "extraordinary salaries," or even "postage." Nevertheless, Table 5 indicates a close approximation of annual pound income from the two government sources. The figures make clear that the firms dependent on the customs board for income received the most actual government income. The Fleets were independent of government income and could not be accused of receiving a subsidy for printing both points of view in their newspaper.

In conclusion, the customs board by far outspent provincial government. In the 13-year period, the governor, council and assembly paid the local printers and booksellers nearly £5,000 for stationery and printing. During only a 6-year period, the customs board paid two printing firms nearly £4,000 for stationery and printing. This difference in spending habits lends support to the accusation that the commissioners were involved more in supporting Loyalist political activity than in collecting customs fees.

Political Printing

Political printing accounted for only a minute portion of total Boston printing. The only possible profit lay in volume sales of a comparatively few political expositions. The small number of political pamphlets primarily supported the popular party: 2,757 pages compared to 499 pages favoring the Loyalists.[82] Only Edes and Gill produced political pamphlets in any volume. The pamphlets varied in cost: a quarter of a dollar (about £0/1/1½) for a pamphlet against the Stamp Act, 1½ pistareens (about £0/1/3½) for a James Otis pamphlet on the rights of the colonies; and one to two pistareens for a copy of the Farmer's Letters.[83] There are no consistent records on cost per sheet, but it can be generalized that the income from political pamphlets probably was slightly less than that from other types of printing. Perhaps

TABLE 5

Income from Government in Pounds, Shillings, and Pence

Fiscal Year (March to March)	Fleets General Court Income	Edes & Gill General Court Income	Drapers General Court Income	S. Kneeland General Court Income	D. Kneeland General Court Income	Green & Russell Customs Board Income	Mein & Fleeming Customs Board Income
1762-63		39 0 4	17 5 8	374 13 4	23 10 0		
1763-64	23 9 4	125 1 8	146 0 0		2 14 2	390 9 10	
1764-65	25 2 0		84 0 8			130 2 0	
1765-66	12 13 4		123 14 10	297 10 0	1 15 4	185 8 8	
1766-67	15 19 0	25 2 0	50 15 0	63 16 0	1 10 5		
1767-68	5 15 8	101 3 0	91 18 4		1 6 10	121 10 2	
1768-69	22 12 4		100 3 8	23 16 0	1 6 8	39 11 0	
1769-70			151 17 0			250 0 0	
1770-71	14 9 4	111 7 4				150 0 0	98 1 2
1771-72		263 0 7				86 5 2	396 0 7 669 15 6
1772-73			254 5 8			38 12 0	494 5 0 293 19 4
1773-74		215 13 8					727 17 6 77 11 10
1774-75					1 4 0		414 19 2 315 17 8
1775-76		84 4 6					
Total Government Income	120 11 0	964 18 1	1020 01 2	759 15 4	33 7 5	3239 12 13	1455 5 6

the printers expected a larger sales volume or perhaps it was their way of contributing to the success of the political faction. Isaiah Thomas, for example, said he was willing to sacrifice private profits for what he believed to be necessary for the popular party cause. He printed "Strictures on a Pamphlet entitled a 'Friendly address to all Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our Political Confusion' " for the "small Price of Two Coppers in order that every Person who is desirous of seeing so well wrote a Piece on the Subject of our political Controversay may be possessed therewith." A postscript assured that "Those who cannot afford to purchase, may have it gratis by applying to I. Thomas."[84] There is no evidence, however, that any other printer exhibited such a benevolent attitude. It may also be true that some political pamphlets were subsidized secretly by John Hancock or other popular party leaders of means.

Other Printing: "Almanacks" to Harvard Theses

Isaiah Thomas estimated that after 1760 until the War of Independence Boston printed more books annually than any other colonial city, except perhaps Philadelphia.[85] In addition to religious, government and political works, the Boston printers produced a diversity of items, but they accounted for a small percentage of each printers' total printing as Table 4 indicates. The annual almanacs were significant in this group of miscellaneous printing because of the reportedly large number of copies sold throughout the colonies. Printing for Harvard College did not involve quantity printing, but it was apparently a prestige position. Other kinds of printing ranged from children's books to cook books and Thomas Hutchinson's history of the province printed by the Fleets.

Income from these other kinds of printing varied. According to Margaret Draper's records, the Drapers, Edes and Gill, Fleets, and Green and Russell printed between 60,000 and 70,000 almanacs annually.[86] The almanacs were sold wholesale to booksellers for 1 shilling, 9 pence a dozen, or 6 pence retail, although higher priced almanacs sold for 2 shillings, 8 pence each. Each firm's annual income from almanac sales was about £50.[87] There were as many varieties of almanacs as there were printers, although the "Ames' Almanack" was most widely distributed.

The Drapers clung jealously to their appointment as Harvard

College printers, although the printing did not bring a particularly high income. The firm printed the triennial catalogues, annual theses and master's questions for an annual income of about £30.[88] There is no indication that any of the Boston publishers attempted to usurp the Drapers' privileged position until Isaiah Thomas took away the annual printing of the theses in 1771 and a minor "newspaper war" broke out in Boston over the issue. Thomas was not retained as Harvard printer, however, and the Drapers printed for Harvard again in 1772, with Edes and Gill and the Fleets dividing the college's printing in 1773.[89]

In conclusion, there was such skimpy financial data available for the publishing of cook books, the New England Primer, story books and other history books, that meaningful comparison of prices and profits could not be made with religious, government, and political printing. However, these miscellaneous kinds of printing only accounted for such small percentages of printers' average annual income that specific financial knowledge concerning this area is not crucial.

Other Financial Data

To round out the economic assessment of the Boston newspaper publishers, other economic data, including a summary of an advertising study, are presented here. Although the other data frequently are fragmentary, they nevertheless offer added insight into the economic affairs of publishers during the revolution. These data include observations on newspaper subscription income and circulation, possible economic affiliations among printers, their subsidiary business interests, employment data, financial assistance from other sources, and finally property and estate of each printer.

Newspaper Advertising

Advertising was a significant economic factor for the newspaper publishers, but they may have subordinated it to the news and opinion functions of their newspapers. Advertising helped defray the cost of printing a newspaper; however, a publisher needed more than this newspaper income in order to earn a living. The advertisements more closely resembled the modern classified ad than display advertising.

Although the mean percentage of total column space weekly devoted to advertising ranged from 3 to 63 percent, the newspapers generally used less than 50 percent of their space for advertising. As Table 6 shows, the Boston *Gazette* had the highest advertising volume, followed by the Loyalist *News-Letter* and the neutral *Evening Post*. Extensive analysis of advertising data[90] further indicated that total advertising shifted slightly during the revolutionary period from the four Loyalist papers to the two Patriot newspapers, much as total printing volume shifted over that time period. However, when Isaiah Thomas began operating the *Spy*, he took advertising away from all the newspapers. Even government advertising and legal advertising declined during this period in the Loyalist papers. However, when total and merchant advertising was related to the political expression contained in each newspaper, no significant findings appeared. This suggested that

TABLE 6

Summary of Economic Factors, 1763-1775

Economic Factors	Evening Post	Gazette	Spy	News-Letter	Post Boy	Chronicle	Centinel
Rank in Advertising Volume	3	1	4	2	5	6	7
Percent of Boston Advertising	22%	31%	20%	25%	16%	6%	.5%
Rank in Total Printing Volume	3	2	4	5.5	4	1	5.5
Percent of Total Printing	9%	13%	7%	6%	8%	24%	6%
Newspaper Subscribers	7	2000	3500	1500	few	1400	7
Life of Newspaper during 1763-1775 Time Period	13 years	13 years	5 years	13 years	13 years	3 years	1 year
Number of Employes	1 + 7	1 + 7	3 + 7	3 + 7	2 + 7	17	7
Outside Funds from Benefactors			Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Pension from British Government				Yes		Yes	
Value of Estate upon Probate	$34,888.56 + 7	Edes 7 Gill £804 6 9	$200,000.00	Richard Draper £ 973 4 8	Green £ 1292 4 3 Russell $14,487.75		$303.00
Debts Outstanding at Death		Gill £1012 12 2			Russell $10,257.99		

for the partisan newspapers, as well as for the neutral Boston *Evening Post*, a multiplicity of factors, rather than political relationships, affected changes in advertising volume. For example, the study suggested that advertisers were more willing to advertise in newspapers with the largest circulation and in newspapers considered to be technically superior newspapers. Thus it would appear that the press was fairly free of economic coercion from advertisers.

Subscriptions and Circulation

Newspaper subscriptions could have contributed a substantial share to a publisher's total income if the printers' claims of widespread circulation were true and if subscribers paid promptly in cash. There is more evidence of extensive circulation than of prompt payment, however. Most newspaper publishers depended on circulation in the "country" as well as in town. Eventually, a publisher's political loyalties affected his newspaper's circulation. By the time of the War for Independence, most Loyalist newspaper circulation, and probably subscription income, had dwindled to nearly nothing, but when hostilities broke out, the popular party papers also stopped publication. They lost subscribers when they resumed publication during the war.

Most Boston publishers charged the same subscription price. The annual subscription charge for all the newspapers, except the Censor, was 8 shillings "sealed and directed" or 6 shillings, 8 pence "uncovered." Both rates were in lawful money.[91] This equaled 5 shillings sterling when the paper was delivered uncovered.[92] These standard rates were in force until the battles of Lexington and Concord in 1775, after which rates were raised for those papers still being printed. The *Censor*, however, sold for 2 pence per number or £0/8/8 annually to subscribers or 4 pence each to non-subscribers. These prices probably were in lawful money and not sterling.[93] The newspapers, then, provided relatively inexpensive reading for Bostonians. By comparison, some male subscribers spent four times as much annually for a barber's services, including hair dressing three times a week and a shave fortnightly.[94]

Circulation figures are fragmentary at best; nevertheless, these data suggest a crude estimate of annual subscription income. The popular party papers claimed extensive circulation. Isaiah Thomas

began printing the *Spy* as soon as he had 500 subscribers;[95] however, he may have reached 3,500 paid subscriptions by the time of Lexington and Concord.[96] Most of the other papers claimed between 1,500 and 2,000 subscriptions.[97] *Post Boy* circulation was unknown, but Isaiah Thomas wrote that it "was not extensive."[98] Based on 1,500 subscribers with about 200 receiving newspapers "covered and directed," Mrs. Draper estimated her annual subscription income was nearly £350 sterling,[99] a substantial sum for those times.

Extensive circulation did not mean prompt payment. Persuading subscribers to pay their bills could tax a printer's ingenuity.[100] Isaiah Thomas's experience can serve here as a representative example. He wrote in 1775:

> This Day's paper, No. 212, compleats FOUR Years since the first publication of the *Spy*. "The times are Hard!" The Printer's purse empty! "A word," &c.[101]

When the British occupation of Boston forced his move to Worcester in 1775, Thomas claimed he lost $3,000 in uncollected subscription income.[102]

Subsidiary Business Interests

Although subsidiary business interests, such as auction rooms and book shops, may have been extremely significant in the overall economic picture of a newspaper publisher, this is one area where the least amount of information was available. It is known, however, that most printers had some sidelines.

Nearly all newspaper publishers advertised that they printed blanks and forms of all kinds. These include bonds for money, sheriff and constable bonds, powers of attorney, bills of sale, deeds for houses and land, indentures, shipping bills for seamen and blanks for probate court.[103] Some idea of prices can be obtained from charges made to the province government for those forms. In 1763, the Drapers billed government £0/13/4 for 200 blank treasurer's warrants; the Fleets, £0/18/0 in 1771. Mrs. Draper could not recall her total earnings for this kind of printing.[104]

There were independent book stores in Boston; however, many publishers sold at least some of their publications directly from their own shops. They also sold London editions of books, ranging from dictionaries and spellers to more academic works such as

"Pott on the Brain," and "Pringle on the Army."[105] John Mein's London Book Store, however, probably was the most extensive business of the kind and was separate from the printing shop. Mein later claimed his book store earnings ranged from £40 to £80 weekly and that his stock totaled more than 10,000 volumes valued at between 6,000 and 7,000 pounds sterling.[106] These figures, however, should be considered in light of Mein's penchant for "puffery."

Most newspaper publishers also advertised "stationary" articles for sale in their shops. These ranged from medicine, slates, sealing wax and ink to "pounce and pounce boxes," medications like "sugar plumbs" and "Keyser's Famous Pills," bonnet paper and jewelry.[107] The Fleets, according to Thomas, kept the stationery shop for the "benefit" of their spinster sisters.[108] Mrs. Draper recalled that the income from the stock of stationery in her shop was about £10/0/0 sterling a year, although Mills and Hicks estimated that their combined job printing and stationery business brought £300/0/0 annually.[109]

Of all the Boston publishers, Mein and Fleeming probably had the most extensive book binding operation. These Loyalist printers employed four or five binders at a time, but there is no indication of separate income from that operation; apparently the profits from book binding were incorporated in the printers' statements about profits from general printing.[110]

Joseph Russell, of the firm of Green and Russell, was much in demand as an auctioneer in Boston; other publisher-auctioneers apparently had a smaller clientéle. Although there was an auction room in the Fleet shop and their father was an auctioneer, there was no hard evidence that the sons continued the business. Ezekiel Russell operated an auction room, along with his intelligence office and printing office.[111] Political loyalties apparently were irrelevant, for Russell conducted auctions for John Hancock on his wharf. Russell advertised auctions two or three times a week in almost every Boston newspaper. Although a small auction of goods valued at £100 lawful money brought a commission of a little over £5, an auction of goods valued at nearly £500 paid a commission of almost £25. Russell's weekly earnings as an auctioneer probably amounted to at least £30. The commission ap-

parently was figured on the basis of 2 to 6 pence per item sold, depending on the value of the item.[112]

Publishers attempted to bolster sagging incomes in a number of other ways, ranging from Mein's circulating library and Isaiah Thomas' magazine publication to handling lottery ticket sales. A unique subsidiary enterprise for its time was John Mein's circulating library in his book store. Patrons paid a shilling for catalogues listing the 1,200 available volumes. Books were loaned for £1/8/0 lawful money a year, 18 shillings for six months, or 10 shillings, 8 pence for 3 months. Country subscribers could request two books at a time, but they had to pay a double fee, plus the cost of "carriage." There are no exact figures on his total income from this.[113] Thomas published the *Royal American Magazine* for six months before he sold it to Joseph Greenleaf. The price of the publication was 10 shillings, 4 pence lawful money annually or 7 shillings, 9 pence sterling, for the 50-page issues.[114] Thomas also formed a partnership in "Newbury Port" for a year with Henry Walter Tinges, and established the *Essex Packet*.[115] For income, Mrs. Draper took in boarders. Edes and Gill and Green and Russell printed lottery tickets and helped manage the lotteries themselves.[116] These subsidiary enterprises may not have provided a livelihood when considered independently, but when combined with a newspaper publisher's other income, the total usually provided a comfortable living.

Employees

Another way of gaining insight into a publisher's economic status is to consider the number of employees in his business. This information, of course, was fragmentary but helpful. All the publishers except Ezekiel Russell had some assistants. Family members also helped in the shops. The Fleets retained slaves in the shop (despite their anti-slavery editorials), and also had apprentices.[117] Main and Fleeming probably had the largest staff, employing 17 persons in all branches of their businesses, including four journeymen printers from Scotland.[118] The other publishers had smaller staffs, generally a few apprentices or young lads as printers' helpers.[119]

The wages paid the printing assistants also give some indication of the financial status of the publishers. Mein said the foreman of

his bookbinding operation received £69/6/8 lawful money annually.[120] Green and Russell said they paid £200 sterling each year to perhaps three or four journeymen.[121] Mrs. Draper paid her partner, John Boyle, and Daniel Fowle 20 shillings sterling a week or £52 annually. Another apprentice was scheduled to receive 20 shillings lawful money per week after his training was over.[122] This was an average wage for the colony. A man laboring on highway work, for example, earned about £1/8/0 lawful money for a six-day week, although Harvard College instructors were clamoring for a salary increase to £100 sterling annually. A farmer could purchase a good cow for £13/10/0 sterling.[123] If a printer was employing even three or four apprentices at £50 annually, then he probably was earning a substantial return himself.

Benefactors

Some publishers' financial operations were allegedly assisted by special benefactors. Ezekiel Russell and Mills and Hicks had benefactors, but these could not be identified by name.[124] John Mein and John Fleeming had a benefactor in addition to the customs board. The Loyalist, John Murray, loaned them at least £130, which never was repaid, according to account books.[125] Murray also loaned Mein and Fleeming smaller sums, which they repaid with £10/5/10 interest in "flour, rum, wine, paper, fish." In addition, Murray was instrumental in obtaining a personal loan for the two Loyalist printers from Charles Steuart (or Stewart), a customs official. This was repaid, however.[126] Isaiah Thomas also had a special benefactor, but it was not Joseph Greenleaf, as some government printers and historians have suggested. Greenleaf, when he was affiliated with Thomas, was an actual business partner. Thomas's correspondence, however, hints that the mysterious benefactor of the *Spy* was none other than John Hancock.[127] When Thomas dissolved his original partnership with Zecariah Fowle, Thomas agreed to purchase the printing equipment from his partner in October, 1770. Fowle was willing to wait a year for his money (about £53/6/8 lawful money) but Fowle's creditor, an officer of the crown, refused to wait a year before Fowle, in turn, paid him. Hancock refinanced this purchase for Thomas.[128] However, no evidence of special benefactors operating to assist the other printers in Boston could be found.

Personal Property

Wills, inventories of estates and publishers' declarations of revolutionary period losses were not available for all the newspaper publishers, but the information therein adds still another facet to the economic picture of the Boston publishers. Table 6 shows a compilation from many sources such as wills, tax rolls and probate inventories and suggests which publishers had substantial real property. The Loyalists, of course, lost their holdings during the War for Independence. It should be noted that Isaiah Thomas had the most extensive financial holdings after the war, and that the Fleet estate eventually was probated at $110,000.[129]

Conclusions

THE MAJOR conclusion is that government printing was not the only means a Boston revolutionary-period printing firm had for economic survival. There was three to four times as much religious printing as government printing in Boston. Total printing, religious printing and government printing declined for the Loyalist publishers after 1771; this can be attributed to John Mein's exodus from Boston and to Edes and Gill's appointment as printers to the assembly. The financial ruin of Mein, as well as of Green and Russell, was linked to their association with the customs board and to Mein's condemnation of the non-importation movement in 1769. For printers without such a disastrous political connection, however, it was clear that profit came with or without government printing.

In addition, there was evidence that government printing in general did not bring as much income as religious printing for several reasons: there was a smaller volume of government printing, most government publications contained fewer pages than the religious works, fewer copies were ordered of each government publication than of the religious books and pamphlets and the publishers appear to have charged more per sheet for many kinds of religious printing than for government publications even though expenses for paper, ink and overhead must have been about the same.

In combining all those economic indices, as well as data from the author's study of costs of printing materials, one point became clear: little or no economic coercion was exerted against the politically impartial Fleets. The partisan printers, Edes and Gill, probably were the most prosperous publishers in Boston; the Drapers possibly ranked second. However, the Fleets maintained a steady third place in both advertising and printing volume; their finances were not harmed by newspaper neutrality. (See Table 6.) Richard Draper might have offered Edes and Gill more

competition had he not been in such poor health. In addition, it might be speculated that had John Mein not joined the crusade against non-importation, his ambition to expand his business might have made him a leading Boston printer and bookseller. Isaiah Thomas, of course, eventually became the most prosperous of the printers, but during the revolution he was, at best, a young, financially struggling publisher, suffering from financial coercion initiated by the Loyalists, but kept from ruin by a helping hand from Hancock.

The clear significance of the total economic data, however, was that despite the financial reverses and successes of various partisan publishers that paralleled the reverses and successes of their political factions, the Fleets maintained a comfortable income and a steady volume of advertising and printing despite their neutrality. Finally, religious printing was very significant to a publisher's success. The myth that government printing was necessary to run a printing business successfully has been laid to rest.

NOTES

[1] John Adams believed the War for Independence was only an effect and consequence of the American revolution and that the revolution existed from 1763 to 1775. Also see Merrill Jensen, *The Founding of a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), xi-xiii.

[2] "Government Printing in Massachusetts, 1751-1801," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Virginia* reprint, 1963.

[3] *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Random House, 1958).

[4] "British Control of American Newspapers on the Eve of the Revolution," *New England Quarterly*, 24: 463-8 (December 1951).

[5] Harold L. Nelson, "Press Restraint in a Society under Stress," Paper read to history section, International Association for Mass Communications Research, Stockholm, August, 1960, p. 9; Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), pp. 79-81; Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), pp. 62, 93-4; Clyde Augustus Duniway, *The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), p. 121; Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1964), p. 227.

[6] For simplification, those persons who supported the British government will be termed Loyalist or Tory; those who did not, Patriot or popular party member even though these labels are not historically accurate. It is quite true that many individuals could not be categorized, but the content analysis of the newspapers permitted accurate coding of newspaper articles.

[7] Political printing is, in brief, comment, opinion or reports of activities of power sources that originate with the political party membership. Operational definitions are lengthy and precise and may be obtained from the author.

[8] Bleyer, *op. cit.*, 88-9.

[9] A neutrality index was devised by the author in a separate study and applied to the Boston papers to determine the political label of Loyalist, Patriot or neutral. Further details will be provided by the author.

[10] Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers and an Account of Newspapers* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1874), v. 2, p. 58.

[11] Operational definitions and method may be obtained from the author.

[12] Charles E. Evans, *Early American Imprints* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1941).

[13] Roger P. Bristol first mentioned the "ghosts" in Evans in *Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers Indicated by Charles Evans in His American Bibliography* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961).

[14] *Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970).

[15] *National Index of American Imprints through 1800*, v. 1, 2 (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society and Barre, 1969).

[16] Write the author for operational definitions and method.

[17] Mary Ann P. Yodelis, Boston's Second Major Paper War: Economics, Politics and the Theory and Practice of Political Expression in the Press, 1763-1775. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1971, Chapter 4.

[18] The difference between Patriot and Loyalist printing reflected conditions rather than a function of percentage; i.e., in addition to the statistical data presented, there is support for this finding from general historical interpretation. There is an intervening factor of non-newspaper printers, but even these printers published more popular party material.

[19] Great Britain. Public Record Office, Treas. 1/161, Memorial of John Fleeming to Lord North, Nov. 12, 1773.

[20] *Ibid.*, Treas. 1/492, Memorial of Green and Russell, April 21, 1772.

[21] *Ibid.*, Audit Office 13/96 (II) f. 639, Memorial of James Robertson on behalf of Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks, undated.

[22] *Ibid.*, AO, 13/44, ff. 408-9, Statement of John Howe, May 6, 1785.

[23] Graphs which would illustrate this zero correlation have been omitted because of space limitations.

[24] Zero correlations have been omitted because of space.

[25] Zero correlations have been omitted because of space. Regression analysis yielded no results. This also is omitted due to space.

[26] The actual volume of political printing was so small the results of any correlation would have been spurious.

[27] A. W. Plumstead, *The Wall and the Garden: Selected Massachusetts Election Sermons, 1670-1775* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1968), pp. 6-7.

[28] Silver, Government Printing, p. 143; Silver, "Financing the Publication of Early New England Sermons," *Studies in Bibliography*, The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1958, reprint, p. 166.

[29] Evans, *op. cit.*, 9691, 11027, 10569, 13330, 13053; William Sumner Jenkins (ed.), Records of the United States of America, Massachusetts General Court, 1763-1775, Council Records, May 26, 1768, May 27, 1773, May 28-9, 1767; Massachusetts Archives, v. 253, f. 160, 176; v. 254, f. 151; v. 255, f. 34, 47-53; 56; v. 394, f. 72.

[30] One sheet produced varying numbers of pages, depending on page size. Cost is compared when cost per sheet and total number of sheets per item is known.

[31] Mass. Archives, *loc. cit.*; Jenkins, Council, June 19, 1775.

[32] Secretary, Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Interview, Faneuil Hall Armory, Feb. 4, 1971, Boston, Massachusetts.

[33] For example, see Evans, *op. cit.*, 10072, will of Sebastian Smith.

[34] Evans, *op. cit.*, 12093, John Lathrop, Medford, 1771.

[35] Boston *Gazette* (BG), Mar. 5, 1764.

[36] For example, see Evans, *op. cit.*, 11973-5, 19207, 13508, 10952, 11707.

[37] Bristol, Supplement, B35ib, mp 42400; B3513, mp 42396; B3560, mp 42438; B3558, mp 42436; B3647, mp 42508; B3645, mp 42506; B3622, mp 42485; B3517, mp 42399; B3653, mp 42514; B3678, mp 42544; B36757; Evans, op. cit., 12862, 12863.

[38] Alice M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1958), p. 91; Clinton Rossiter, *Seedtime of the Republic* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1953), p. 231.

[39] Evans, *op. cit.*, 9737, 93738, 9441, 9442, 9832, BG, Apr. 25, Oct. 10, 1763; *Boston Evening Post* (BEP), Jan. 18, Feb. 13, 1964; *Post Boy* (PB) Oct. 3, 1763; *News-Letter* (NL) June 6, 1765 supplement.

[40] Evans, *op. cit.*, 10254, 10259.

[41] Suffolk County Probate Records, 18510, John Gill, Inventory, September 14, 1785.

[42] Edmund S. Morgan (ed.), John Howe, Jr., "The Revolutionary Era as an Age of Politics," *The Role of Ideology in the American Revolution* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 10.

[43] Data compiled from NL, May 26, 1763, Jan. 1, 1767, Mar. 23, Oct. 21, 1773, Jan. 19, June 30, 1774; BEP, July 21, 1766, Mar. 2, 1767, Oct. 17, 1774, SPY, Sept. 10, 1772; BG Aug. 12, 1765, Mar. 22, 1773; PB, April 4, 1763, Oct. 15, 1764, Dec. 19, 1768, June 26, 1769. Also see Silver, "Publishing in Boston, 1726-1757: The Accounts of Daniel Henchman," Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1956, p. 22; Ruth Crandall, "Wholesale Commodity Prices in Boston During the 18th Century," *Review of Economic Statistics*, 16:117 (1934).

[44] BG, Dec. 5, 1763, and Silver, "Henchman," pp. 20-21.

[45] BG, July 8, Dec. 23, 1771.

[46] BEP, Feb. 1, 1773.

[47] BEP, Sept. 12, 1763.

[48] Watts editions in Evans, *op. cit.*, 9346, 11571, 12273, 12324, 10559, 10560, 10836, 12605; Bristol, Supplement, B2825, mp 41776; B4164, mp 42980; B3671, mp 42535; B3644, mp 42747; B3900, mp 42745; B3505, mp 42387; B3669, mp 42534; B3148, mp 42084; B3407, mp 42295; B3323, mp 42299; B3322, mp 42297; B3321, mp 42298; B2846, mp 41895; B3526, mp 42536; B3527, mp 42538; B3538; B3528, mp 42537; B3901, mp 42746; B2736, mp 41693; B2718, mp 41671. Tate and Brady in Evans, 13148, 13149, 13150, 13151, 11180, 10557, 9914, 10558, 12673; Bristol, *Supplement*, B3927, mp 42769; B2736; B3147, mp 42063. New England Psalter in Bristol, *Supplement*, B3320, mp 42214; B3146, mp 42061; B3692, mp 42558; B2845, mp 41797; B3145, mp 42060. Childrens editions of Watts in Evans, 12272, 11923. These are different editions and not additional copies of a press run.

[49] Jenkins, Council, Feb. 24, 1763, House, Jan. 19, 1759.

[50] Mass. Arch., v. 58, f. 493.

[51] *Ibid.*, f. 494; Jenkins, House, Feb. 3, 1764.

[52] Mass. Arch. v. 58, f. 534, Nov. 1, 1764; Jenkins, Council, Nov. 3, 1764, Feb. 18, 1765, House, Nov. 3, 1764.

[53] *Ibid.*, v. 254, f. 564-8; Evans, *op. cit.*, No. 9428-99.

[54] Mass. Arch., v. 58, f. 493; v. 253, f. 176.

[55] *Ibid.*, v. 58, f. 475, Dec. 1, 1762; NL, Apr. 7, 1763, proclamation signed by A. Oliver, Council Secretary, Mar. 31, 1763.

[56] Mass. Arch., v. 58, f. 606, ms.

[57] Great Britain, PRO, AO 13/44, ff. 337, 341-2, 409, Mar. 19, 1784, Memorial of Margaret Draper to Commissioners Appointed by Act of Parliament for Enquiring into Losses and Services of the American Loyalists.

[58] Kneeland's charge had been listed per book, not per sheet. Mass. Arch., v. 255, f. 72.

[59] Jenkins, Council, Feb. 19, 1765, House, Mar. 1, 1765.

[60] Refer to author.

[61] Jenkins, House, Mar. 6, 1767; Mass. Arch., v. 255, f. 47.

[62] Jenkins, House, June 2, 1758; Mass. Arch., v. 254, ff. 568, 671, 194.

[63] Mass. Arch., v. 50, f. 228-9, v, 255, ff. 34, 72, 254, f. 84; Jenkins, House, June 23, 1769, May 29, 1767.

[64] Mass. Arch., v. 138, f. 49, May 13, 1775.

[65] Great Britain, PRO, Treas., Memorial of Green and Russell to Commissioners of Customs, Boston, Apr. 21, 1772.

[66] Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[67] Refer to author.

[68] Mass. Arch., v. 27, f. 110, Feb. 3, 1771, unsigned, but probably Hutchinson.

[69] Dickerson, NEQ, v. 24, p. 465; Great Britain, PRO, Treas. 1/492, Memorial of Green and Russell, Apr. 21, 1772.

[70] *Ibid.*, Treas., 1/161, Nov. 12, 1773, Memorial of John Fleeming to the Right Honorable Lord North; Treas. 1/163, Fleeming to Grey Cooper.

[71] Reconstructed from Great Britain, PRO, AO 1/844, f. 1137 and Treas. 1/471, ff. 337-8, 1/476, ff. 156, 222-3, 1/482, ff. 225-6, 1/492, ff. 98-9, 101-2; 1/501, ff. 377-8; 1/505, ff. 347-8; 1/513, ff. 214-6.

[72] *Ibid.*, AO 1/844, f. 1137.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Ibid.*, Treas. 1/471, ff. 454-5, dated Nov. 14, 1769. Dickerson speculated that such accounts were used to cover sums for reward and political manipulation, NEQ, v. 24, p. 476.

[75] Great Britain, PRO, Treas. 1/471, f. 454.

[76] *Ibid.*, AO 13/44, ff. 377-8.

[77] Suffolk County, Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Minute Book, 1772; Suffolk County, Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, 85266.

[78] See Boston Town Records, v. 20, Jan. 30, 1764, Apr. 10, 1765; v. 25, pp. 1, 6, 7. Jenkins, House, June 29, July 2, 1771; Bristol, *Supplement*, B3149-50.

[79] Silver, Government Printing, p. 165; I. Thomas Letterbook, Oct. 2, 1775, (AAS).

[80] Silver Worksheets, Miscellaneous Laws, Orders (MHS).

[81] Bristol, *Supplement*, B3885-6, mp 42729.

[82] Refer to author.

[83] NL, May 21, 1767; BG, May 18, 1767. July 23, 1764, Feb. 24, 1766; BEP, July 23, 1764; PB, July 23, 1764.

[84] BEP, BG, Jan. 9, 1775.

[85] I. Thomas, *History*, v. 1, pp. 17-18.

[86] See Evans, *op. cit.*, 9321, 9570-1, 10212, 12303, 12643, 13112. See also Great Britain, PRO, AO, 13/44, ff. 337-409. This was verified by John Howe.

[87] Great Britain, PRO, AO 13/44, ff. 337-409; in another memorial, she said I. 69 (f. 387-8); BEP, Sep. 2, 1765; BG, Sep. 9, 1765; NL, June 11, 1767.

[88] Great Britain, PRO, AO 13/44, ff. 387-8, 409; Evans, *op. cit.*, 9999, 9402, 10922, 10639, 11680, 11287, 11679, 12413, 10329; Bristol, *Supplement*, B3350, mp 42242; B3200, mp 42107; B3009, mp 41943, B2994, mp 41836; B2769; B2670, mp 41624; B3458, mp 42348; B3574, mp 42450.

[89] Evans, *op. cit.*, 12068, 12804-6.

[90] Refer to author.

[91] William Wain Receipt Book, Sept. 13, 1766, Feb. 2, 1771 (AAS); Hancock Family Papers, v. 21, Richard Draper to Thomas Hancock Estate, John Draper Estate to Thomas Hancock (Baker); American Manuscripts, John Draper Estate to Capt. David Allen, Apr. 1, 1763, f. 794 (BPL); Photostat, Edes and Gill to Provincial Government, 1767 (MHS); James Murray Cash Book, Dec. 5, 1770 (MHS); Mass. Arch. v. 253, f. 1204; v. 254, f. 194; v. 255, f. 17, 318; MS, Dec. 7, 1770, Feb. 18, 1771, Jan. 7, Apr. 1, 1773; Feb. 23, 1775; Chronicle (CHR) Proposal, Oct. 22, 1767. Mass. Arch. v. 255, f. 318, lists 6 shillings 2 pence instead of 6 shillings, 8 pence, but the latter seems correct. There was no other evidence of a change. Shipton was probably in error in his calculations on this.

[92] Great Britain, PRO, AO 13/44, ff. 387-8, Amended Schedule of the Property and income of Mrs. Margaret Draper, Widow. Also see, AO 13/44, ff. 355, 408-9.

[93] *Centinel* (CEN), Nov. 23, 1771.

[94] Manuscripts, Bill to John Kneeland, Jul. 7, 1769 (AAS).

[95] SPY, Jan. 28, 1771.

[96] Clifford K. Shipton, *Isaiah Thomas, Printer, Patriot and Philanthropist* (Rochester, New York: Leo Hart, 1948), p. 29.

[97] Buckingham, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 201-2; Great Britain, PRO 13/44 (ff. 355, 387-8, 408-9; NL, May 19, 1775.

[98] I. Thomas, *History*, v. 2, pp. 57-8.

[99] Great Britain, PRO, AO 13/44, ff. 387-8, Amended Schedule of Income.

[100] NL, Jan. 6, 1763, June 18, 1767, Mar. 12, 1767; BEP, BG, Sept. 12, 1763; BEP, Jun. 6, 1764, Jan. 2, 1775, Jun. 10, 1771; BG, Nov. 9, 1767, Nov. 19, 1770.

[101] SPY, Feb. 23, 1775; also Mar. 26, Apr. 3, 1772, Mar. 3, all July issues, Aug. 18, 1774.

[102] I. Thomas, *History*, v. 1, p. lxv.

[103] SPY, Apr. 9, 1772, May 6, 1773; BEP, Aug. 4, 1766, May 27, Jul. 29, 1771; BG, Jun. 1, 1772, Jan. 3, 1774.

[104] Mass. Arch. v. 253, f. 1378, v. 255, f. 372, v. 104, ff. 536, 563, 538; Great Britain, PRO, AO 13/44, ff. 377-8.

[105] BEP, Feb. 21, 1763; BG, Apr. 8, 1771; Jun. 1, 1772.

[106] Great Britain, PRO, Treas. 1/492; Andrews, *CSM*, v. 19, pp. 227-8, note 2.

[107] BEP, Apr. 15, May 27, Oct. 13, 1766, Jul. 29, 1771; PB, Dec. 28, 1773; SPY Nov. 14, 1772.

[108] Thomas, *History*, v. 1, p. 144; BEP, Sep. 4, 1769, SPY, May 6, 1773; BG, Dec. 13, 1773.

[109] Great Britain, PRO, AO, 13/44 ff. 387-8, 13/96 (II), f. 639, undated Memorial of James Robertson.

[110] Mass. Arch. v. 253, f. 1204; v. 255, f. 318; SPY, Aug. 20, 1771; CHR, Jan. 2, Aug. 19, 1769; BEP, Nov. 2, 1767; BG, Jun. 2, 1766.

[111] NL, Mar. 7, 1731; I. Thomas, *History*, v. 1, pp. 99-100; SPY, Sep. 10, Oct. 29, Nov. 5, 12, Dec. 4, 1772; Apr. 1, 1773; BEP, Oct. 26, 1772.

[112] I. Thomas, *History*, v. 1, p. 141, Buckingham, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 210; BEP, Jun. 9, 1766; SPY, Sep. 30, 1773; Mass. Arch. v. 254, f. 486; Hancock Papers, v. 21, Bill of Jan. 16, 1771; v. 22, Nov. 1, 1771; v. 25, Feb. 23, 1771 (Baker).

[113] BG, Nov. 4, 1765, Nov. 3, 1766; BEP, Nov. 18, 1765.

[114] SPY, Jun. 24, 1773, Aug. 25, 1774; I. Thomas, *History*, v. 1, pp. lxi, 170.

[115] I. Thomas, *History*, v. 1, p. 179; Shipton, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[116] PB, Aug. 5, 1771, Sep. 24, 1764, Sep. 4, 1769; NL, Aug. 13, 1767; BG, 1764 and following years.

[117] BEP, May 3, 1773, Aug. 26, 1766, Jun. 7, 1773.

[118] CHR, Apr. 17, Aug. 17, 19, Sep. 4, 1769; I. Thomas, *History*, v. 1, p. 151.

[119] Great Britain, PRO, AO 13/44, f. 373; BG, Jul. 6, 1767; SPY, Jan. 20, Feb.. 10, Apr. 7, 29, 1774, Apr. 9, 1772.

[120] CHR, Aug. 19, 1769.

[121] Great Britain, PRO, Treas. 1/492.

[122] *Ibid.*, AO 13/44, f. 373.

[123] Minutes, Selectmen, Salem, Mass., 1768-1774.

[124] I. Thomas, *History*, v. 1, pp. 171-2; CEN, Nov. 30, 1771.

[125] Murray Account Books, p. 111, entry preceding Mar. 3, 1770, p. 115, pp. 128-9, probably June-October 14, 1772.

[126] Murray Account Books, p. 128, Nov. 16, 1770, p. 132, Oct. 23, 1772, p. 131, p. 130, probably Oct. 14, 1772.

[127] SPY, Oct. 22, 1772, Thomas Letterbook, Mar. 20, 1772; Mar. 18, 1772; CEN, Apr. 25, 1772; NL, Oct. 15, 1772.

[128] I. Thomas Papers, v. 1, 1754-92 (AAS); Thomas Letterbook, Mar. 20, 1772.

[129] Buckingham, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 145.